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ABSTRACT

As part of an urbanization program, this study on Zebulon, North Carolina, was conducted in 1966 by fifth-year students at North Carolina State University. The student group was known as the Regional Task Force, the mission of which was to provide a description of the Zebulon region in terms of the definition of the systems which make up the region, correlations between the systems, and their impact on Zebulon and surrounding areas. Two systems were examined by the task force: the natural and the man-made. The task force listed information on the following as part of their study: population, employment, town services, city government, and socioeconomic problems. In conclusion, comments are made of the community power structure and its influence on the project and the submission of the Model Cities application to the Department of Housing and Urban Development. Maps and charts are interspersed throughout the document, and appendices provide information on such factors as education, crime and juvenile delinquency, and Model Cities programs. (EL)

PLANNING FOR RURAL COMMUNITIES
a case study of zebulon north carolina

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This project was a joint investigation executed by the 5th year Architecture class under the direction of Professor Henry Sanoff with the 5th year Landscape Architecture class.

The assistance of Professor Wayne Maynard Department of Landscape Architecture and Dr. Man Sawhney, Department of Sociology, proved to be invaluable to the success of the study.

Further acknowledgement is credited to George D. Blevins, 5th year student who organized and coordinated this monumental publication.

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Preface

Model Cities Program

"This is vital legislation...important to the future of American cities, large and small."

President Lyndon B. Johnson
June 28, 1966

The program was established primarily because existing programs...federal, state, local...are fragmented and unco-ordinated; cities cannot afford to use these programs on the scale necessary to solve their problems; they need help in mobilizing and expanding their resources to insure effective comprehensive impact.

The program should:

renew entire slum neighborhoods by combined use of physical and social development programs.

increase substantially the supply of standard housing of low and moderate cost.

reduce disease and enforced idleness.

increase educational opportunities.

assure maximum choice of housing by citizens of all income levels.

contribute to the healthy growth of the entire city.

The town of Zebulon, North Carolina, is unique in that it was one of few small towns to attempt an application for a Model Cities planning grant. It shared with many other rural areas a lack of planning or design expertise and, realizing that its resources were insufficient to retain professional services, it sought assistance from the North Carolina State University School of Design.

The Town Attorney brought to the fifth year design studio a completed Model Cities application, which was based on studies previously executed by various State agencies and industrial concerns. This application provided a general quantitative description of the symptoms of rural poverty. It was inadequate as a foundation for any program which would substantially affect the causes of poverty in the area.

It was essential, then, that the class conduct its own investigation of the factors influencing life and growth patterns in the region surrounding and including Zebulon. After a meeting with the Mayor's Council, the group was divided into four five Task Forces to study the Region, Public and Private Sectors, the Physical Fabric, and the Social Fabric.

The Community Development Group opened its Zebulon office on 5 December 1969, when an exhibit of student work was formally presented to the community.[1]

Initial Research on Zebulon and the Region surrounding it indicated that the traditional "master plan" approach to development would not solve the basic needs of the community and high school dropout rates. In addition, lack of size and financial resources limited the possibilities of large scale building construction.

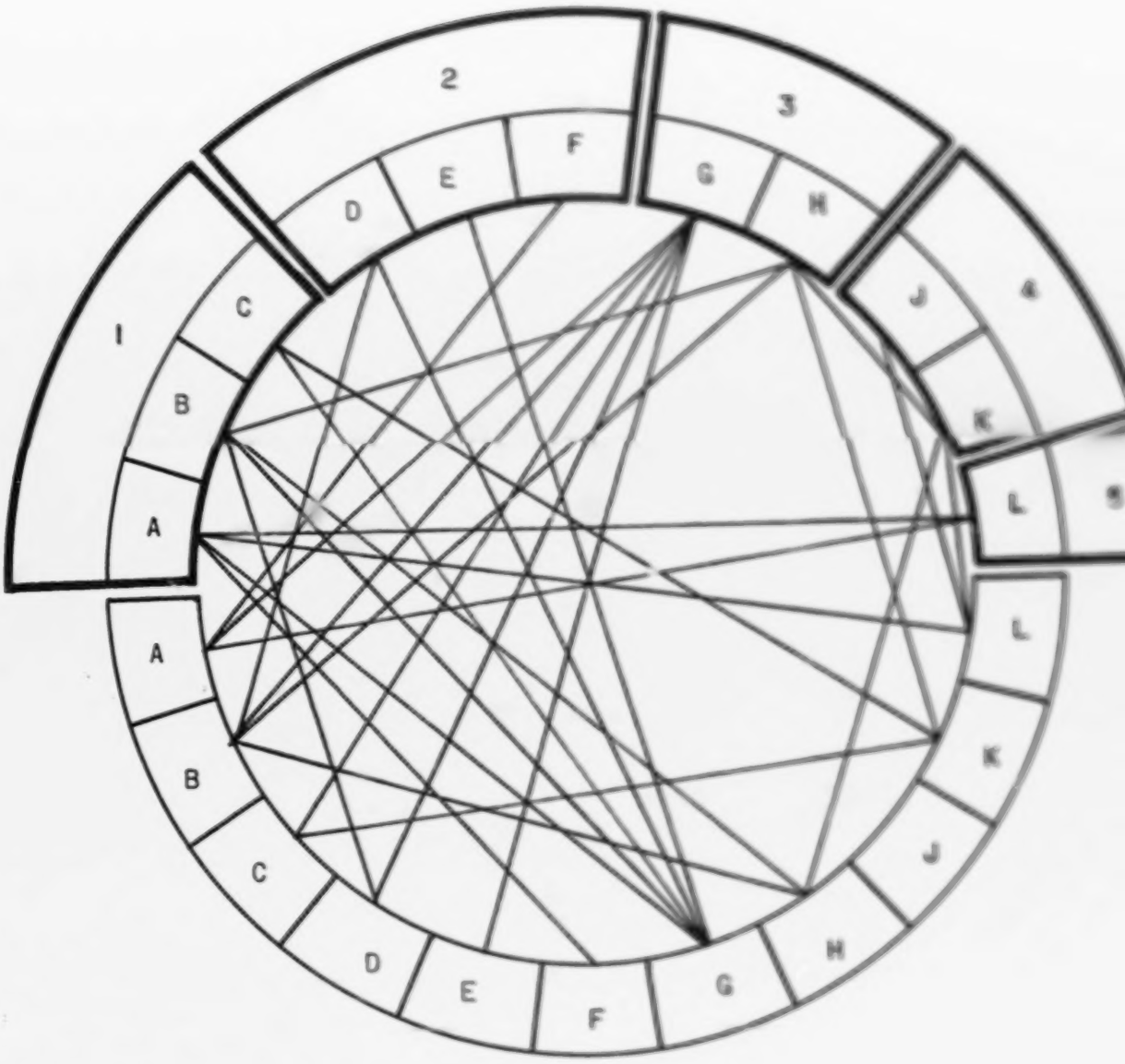
Consequently, the group placed its emphasis on planning of resources, with special awareness of sociological implications. In early phases, there was a tendency toward "advocacy" the formulation of criteria and solutions from the viewpoint of previously neglected segments of the community.

In subsequent investigation, however, it became apparent that the decision-making structure of small rural communities required total citizen representation, since an urban neighborhood is comparable in scale to a rural community. The basic concept, then, became one of involvement of the entire community in the necessities and activities of community planning.

Once citizen involvement had been achieved, the group became involved in the design and initiation of programs (social, political, and physical) to promote community participation enabling legislation, government programs, and self-help issues.

The diagram on the following page outlines the organization of the task forces within the class.

TASK FORCE DIAGRAM



1 REGIONAL TASK FORCE

- A POLITICAL SYSTEMS
- B ECONOMIC SYSTEMS
- C TRANSPORTATION SYSTEMS

2 POLITICAL SYSTEMS TASK FORCE

- D PRIVATE SECTORS
- E FEDERAL PROGRAMS
- F PUBLIC SECTORS

3 LAND DEVELOPMENT TASK FORCE

- G LAND USE PATTERNS
- H SOCIAL SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

4 SOCIAL FABRIC TASK FORCE

- J SOCIO-ECONOMIC SYSTEMS
- K ACTIVITY PATTERNS

5 SOCIAL ACTION TASK FORCE

- L USER NEEDS

TASK FORCE GOALS

Regional Task Force

To describe the region in terms of the natural and socio-economic systems that make up the region, the correlation between these systems, and the potential impact of these systems in Zebulon...

Political Systems Task Force

To set up a program for the implementation of governmental programs to be applied to the social needs in the region and in the town of Zebulon...

Land Development Task Force

To determine and evaluate the social systems and social conditions in the community...

Social Action Task Force

To establish a model of the social conditions and problems in the prototype "Neighborhood" of Zebulon and to be of assistance in creating and implementing programs aimed at the recognized problem areas in the community...

Social Fabric Task Force

To describe and evaluate the social systems, and social conditions in the community...

Description of the Problem

Economy

After the Civil War, Zebulon became a community of small farms. These have since become unprofitable and as a result were consolidated. The owners degenerated into the first sharecroppers, then became the day laborers. The present agricultural economy is stunted and unable to support its citizens. As a result, many small farm owners have kept their independence by having their wives take a job in one of the cutting and sewing operations prevalent in the area.

Tobacco is the major crop in the Little River township where Zebulon is located. While cattle and grain are on the rise, timber and cotton are on the decline.

The majority of the residents in the municipality derive their income from merchandising and servicing. Those individuals who can afford transportation have the best opportunity for new and better jobs. These are, for the most part, groups with a higher level of education; however, transportation limitations constrain those seeking employment in electronics.

Zebulon is a strategic location in the four county area. The trend is toward wholesaling and manufacturing with a readily available labor supply. Retail and wholesale investment is local while industrial investment comes from out of the region and is continually encouraged through tax incentives.

Attitudes

Since stratification of society has failed to allow participation of the poor in the economic, social and political mainstream of decision making, the poor believe that their destiny is not in their hands. Rural attitudinal orientation is to the past and to the local geographic area, leaving the poor without help especially with the increasing scarcity of jobs for those without education. Many people are presently working on a seasonal basis or at low skill and pay levels. These limited work opportunities foster attitudes that are inconsistent with steady employment.

A painful change is necessary for an urbanizing community in indices of social stratification; from race, sex, age to apptitude education and achievement are contrary to traditions over acentury old.

Employment Patterns

There has been a greater out-migration from Zebulon than rural in-migration. Unskilled out-migration is towards Northern New Jersey and Northern New York. This parallels college trained out-migration, which is due to the inability of the town to afford highly-trained services.

Family difficulties result from the male head of household's inability to locate work and the resulting high school drop-out rate of children from financially troubled families.

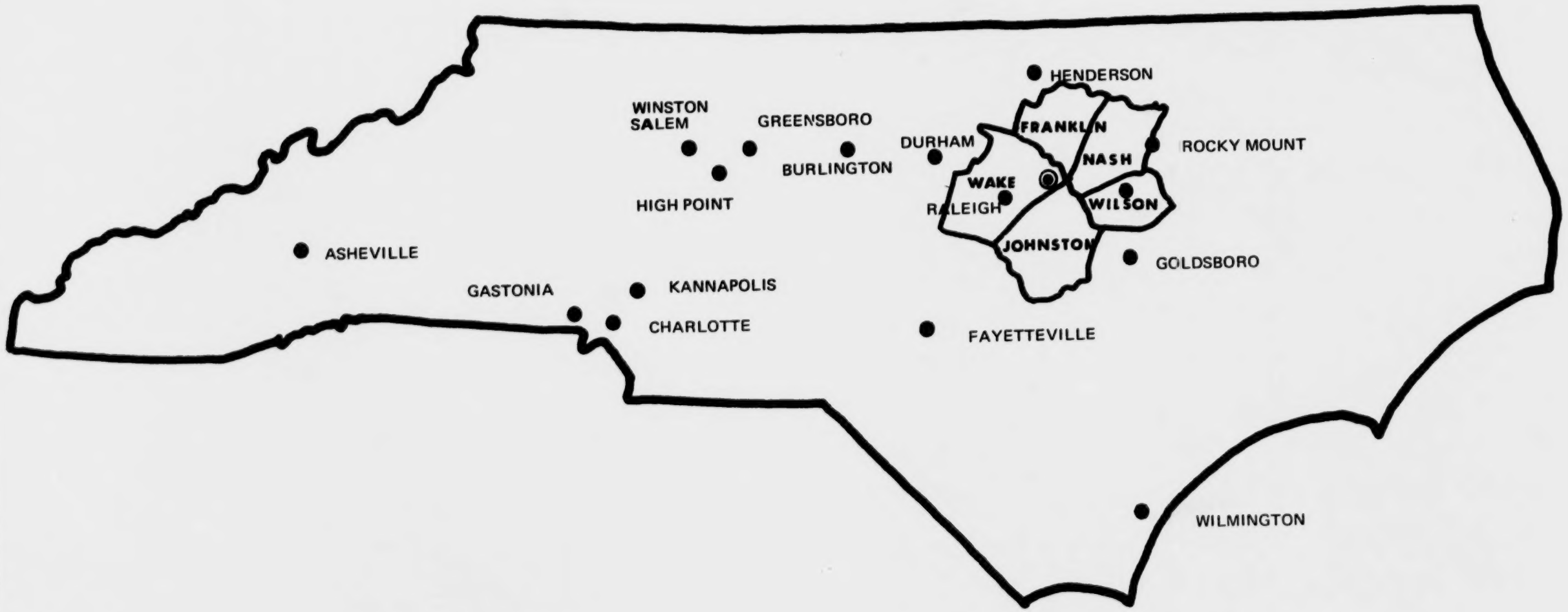
Those children that benefit from school training must leave the area to seek suitable employment. Many of those children that remain in the town are educable but are forced to leave school at an early age and may continue to perpetuate their own attitudes since there are few forces or choices to encourage change.

REGIONAL TASK FORCE

The mission of the Regional Task Force was initially the description of the region enveloping Zebulon. The description was to be in terms of the definition of the systems that make up the region, correlations between those systems and their impact on Zebulon and its surrounding areas.

The portion of North Carolina selected for study begins from Dare County in the east to a boundary in the west of Mecklenberg and Surry Counties. The mountain was felt to have relatively little impact on the immediate Zebulon area. Zebulon is located at the eastern end of Wake County. (Figure 1)

The approach to the problem was made in terms of two systems, the Natural and Man-made, each with component subsystems of physical, economic and social factors. This procedure provided a basis for determining the manner in which the regional relationships could be evaluated within the context of the state. By establishing the character of the study area and identifying the resources available, we were able to define a homogenous region in terms of the factors effecting it. The factors identified are not comprehensive, but are sufficient to provede a background for Zebulon regionally and locally. These factors were plotted on a county level utilizing the SYMAP computer plotting program.



NORTH CAROLINA AND FIVE COUNTY AREA

FIGURE 1

ZEBULON

By 1916 the railroad was well established and incorporated practically all of the principal lines in existance today. On route south between Richmond and Atlanta, it followed existing trails and roads around the base of the Uwharrie Mountains south of Asheboro and helped to further prod the growth of the communities of Raleigh, Durham, Greensboro, and Winston-Salem and Charlotte where major junctions of the rail lines and roads occurred. Zebulon was founded in 1908 as an outgrowth of a rail stop and road junction of a small community to the North.

When the 1967 railroad system is compared to the 1916 railroad system, practically no growth can be seen in the rail system in the last fifty years. Part of this is reflected in the closing of the regular stop at Zebulon in 1948 and its present use as only a siding.

Part of the decline in railroad growth can be attributed to the growth of the road system in the same period. A recent study of highway traffic volumes defines two major traffic arteries within the state-Interstate 85 and Interstate 95. The traffic volume study corroborates the railroad and demographic studies in emphasizing the urbanizing crescent between Raleigh and Charlotte. The majority of traffic is east-west along Interstate 85 and is self-generated within the state. The majority of traffic is north-south along Interstate 95 and is primarily out of state travelers. No major traffic arteries exist between the two interstate highways, but the link proposed between Durham and smithfield will have the effect of further by-passing Zebulon.

Figure 2* is a plotting of the percentage of increase in rural population. It indicates very little increase in rural and rural-farm populations for the whole state. The lightest areas indicate a decrease of 0 to 25 percent. While the rural afeas have high birth rates, no increase indi-

* Figures 2 through 18 deleted because of illegibility.

cates high out-migration rates for these areas. With the probability of the lessening viability of cotton and tobacco, the high out-migration rates will continue.

The percentage of the total population that is non-white is plotted in Figure 3. The areas containing the most non-white population are simultaneously areas of high agricultural land use, low income, and low education levels.

Figure 4 indicates the areas of growth of urban population. The areas adjacent to interstate 95 in Cumberland and Robeson counties show high growth rates because of an influx of industry seeking unskilled labor in these counties along that artery. The same areas have a corresponding loss of rural population. Communities in this area are expanding at such a rapid rate that growth is unplanned and blighted.

The number of available workers as plotted in Figure 5 indicates a high number of persons available in Cumberland and Robeson counties. The same counties indicate high urban population increases. Factors contributing to this are the location of a large military base at Fayetteville with departing military personnel and the location of these counties as a trade center for the surrounding rural and agricultural region.

The number of persons per square mile as plotted in Figure 6 indicates that most of North Carolina's land area is essentially rural in character. The major population centers stand out with concentric areas of non-rural population.

Figure 7 indicates the highest percentages of total population that has completed high school. The corresponding areas of high density have the higher percentages of people with high school education living there.

A study of high school grads as related to fifth grade beginners gives an indication of school drop-out rates and out-migration rates. The counties surrounding Zebulon, that is, Franklin, Nash, Wilson and Johnston all have low education completion rates and a corresponding lower quality of facilities. These four counties present a problem to Zebulon and Wake County in that residents with low education levels migrate to Wake County and the populated areas in search of opportunities in education and jobs.

The percent of total employment in manufacturing, Figure 8, emphasizes the urban crescent. The manufacturing part of the crescent effectively stops at Alamance County. The same areas show a corresponding high level of education, high percentage of high school graduates and high population density.

A study of Orange, Durham and Wake Counties show large percentages of persons employed in government and trade. Zebulon lies on the governmental trade end of the urban crescent.

The percent of total population employed in agriculture is plotted in Figure 9. The areas surrounding Zebulon form a negative image around the urban crescent. Zebulon lies on the edge of a region of socially and commercially rural agriculture.

Studies of the relative percentages of land presently in agricultural use indicates that Zebulon is on the edge of an area of marginal agricultural land use. As the number of persons employed in agriculture and the number of farms decreases in the Piedmont, agriculture will have an increasingly marginal effect on this region.

Soil production capacity studies indicate

that Zebulon is located in an area best suited to tobacco, cotton, peanuts, pasture and forestry. Of these, cotton and tobacco will soon be no longer economically viable crops. This will leave a profound influence on the rural agricultural economics of the region.

The percentage of farms operated by tenants is indicated in Figure 10. The region with the highest percentages of tenants is also a region of highest percentages of land use in agriculture and low income and school completion factors. Thus the farm tenants of this region present a real problem in deficiencies of education and income that shall have to be overcome.

The unemployment indicated in Figure 11 corresponds to the agricultural region which has a relatively high unemployment. As such Zebulon presents a local of areas for exploitative industry to take advantage of cheap, unskilled labor.

Percapita income levels are indicated in Figure 12. Zebulon is on the edge of the higher income levels of the governmental, trade and manufacturing urban crescent and th the lower income levels of the surrounding agricultural region.

Figure 13 indicates the percentages of families with income under $3,000 and locates Zebulon on the edge of a much larger rural North Carolina of essentially low income.

The second phase of study consisted of a scaling down and focusing on a five county region of which Zebulon is the approximate center. Data was plotted on a township level utilizing SYMAP computer plotting programs. The five counties were Wake, Franklin, Nash, Wilson and Johnston.

The levels of male unemployment in Figure 14 for the surrounding five county area show a relatively uniform rate. Female unemployment in Figure 15 and male unemployment indicate on a township level that Zebulon and its immediate area relate more closely to the surrounding rural counties of Franklin, Nash, Wilson and Johnston than it does to the more urban Raleigh-Durham area.

The percentage of families with income under $1,000 in Figure 17 indicates the seriousness of the problem of low income to the immediate Zebulon area. Once again the rural area of Zebulon shows more in common with the nearby four counties than the more prosperous urban Raleigh-Durham community.

The median school years completed are plotted in Figure 16. The urban areas of the five oounties have appreciable higher levels of educated persons in residence. Raleigh and Durham are able to attract and hold a more educated population by virture of the amenities they offer that haven't been duplicated by smaller rural communities.

Median family income in Figure 18 indicates a region of low family income between the population centers of Rocky Mount, Wilson, Raleigh and Durham. Median family income is typical of many other factors in education, employment, commercial facilities, recreation. While the more urban centers enjoy high levels of income and education, the rapid fall-off of these levels as one moves from them to the more rural regions is typical of regions all over the state.

The region of which Zebulon is a part is essentially one of rural agriculture. It lies on the edge of a receding agriculture. land use area. Employment in this area is changing from agriculture to exploitative industry. The immediate Zebulon area is located such that it is not served by any major traffic arteries. The community wishes to remain independent of Raleigh, even though one third of its working population is employed in Raleigh. The community is also concerned with comprehensive planning as opposed to unordered blight that is typical of many communities its size.

The town of Zebulon is a prototypical community for rural North Carolina. Most of these communities have few resources compounded by lack of incentive of their residents toward any type of improvement in the community. Either no planning exists for these areas, of what little planning does exist is never implemented.

The community of Zebulon is immediately faced with the alternatives of planned growth or sporadic decay. The fact that 64% of North Carolina's population lives in similiar circumstances compounds the gravity of the problem.

Concern at a regional level for comprehensive planning should be primary. Comprehensive planning defined as: long and short term planning of physical, social, and economic needs.

To initiate and implement comprehensive planning a new agency should be set up or preferably an existing agency could be modified. This agency should have the responsibili y and power to coordiante its work with other state agencies, out of state agencies and federal agencies at a state wide and local level. Primary responsibility should be on implementation and resident participation.....

POLITICAL SYSTEMS TASK FORCE

The approach to the investigation of the governmental institutions in Zebulon and in contingent towns and districts, first attempted to identify any significant linkages between the smaller population centers and the large cities. In many previous planning studies a central metropolitan area usually provided a focus for organization, which required verification. Zebulon and the other rural towns proved to be an exception.

Verification was in the form of a precedent--a study done by students at Iowa State University in connection with Model Cities legislation, in which large cities were used as centers of circles of influence. Criteria which determined the radii of these circles included:

1. Commuting distances from outlying districts to central city and business districts
2. Migration factors
3. Location of water-sewer facilities
4. Location of entertainment facilities
5. Location of resources for industry--local and natural.

Using these same criteria, we used in Durham, Raleigh, and Rocky Mount as centers for circles of influence which intersected to form an area within which we will work, an area which simply

was rural in nature, and which had problems characteristically rural in nature.

Raleigh, Wilson, Rocky Mount, and Fayetteville all exert some degree of influence as metropolitan centers. However, their interests overlap in the four-county area (Wake, Johnston, Nash, and Franklin counties); and none of these cities has exerted much effort in order to benefit its fringe area population centers and rural districts in this area.

These small municipalities all have problems of similar nature which are not receiving attention at present. In order to solve these common problems and to improve the economic and living conditions we propose that the rural governments in this four-county area organize themselves in such a way that they can adequately deal with the large scale problems and develop machinery sufficient to the task of planning and financing improvement.

Such organization can be carried out along either of two lines of action. First, a planning commission can be established outright under the powers granted by the state enabling legislation. Second, a regional council of governments consisting of elected local officials can administer multi-county problems. The latter alternative was selected because it offered more flexibility and margin for experimentation and error (Figure 19) The planning commision would be less satisfactory because it would create an elite body of professionals with uncertain citizen support. It would also involve delicate negotiations with the existing Triangle Planning Commission whose territory includes three townships in Wake County within the proposed area jurisdiction. The regional council of governments would be more responsive to citizen interest and would actively encourage public

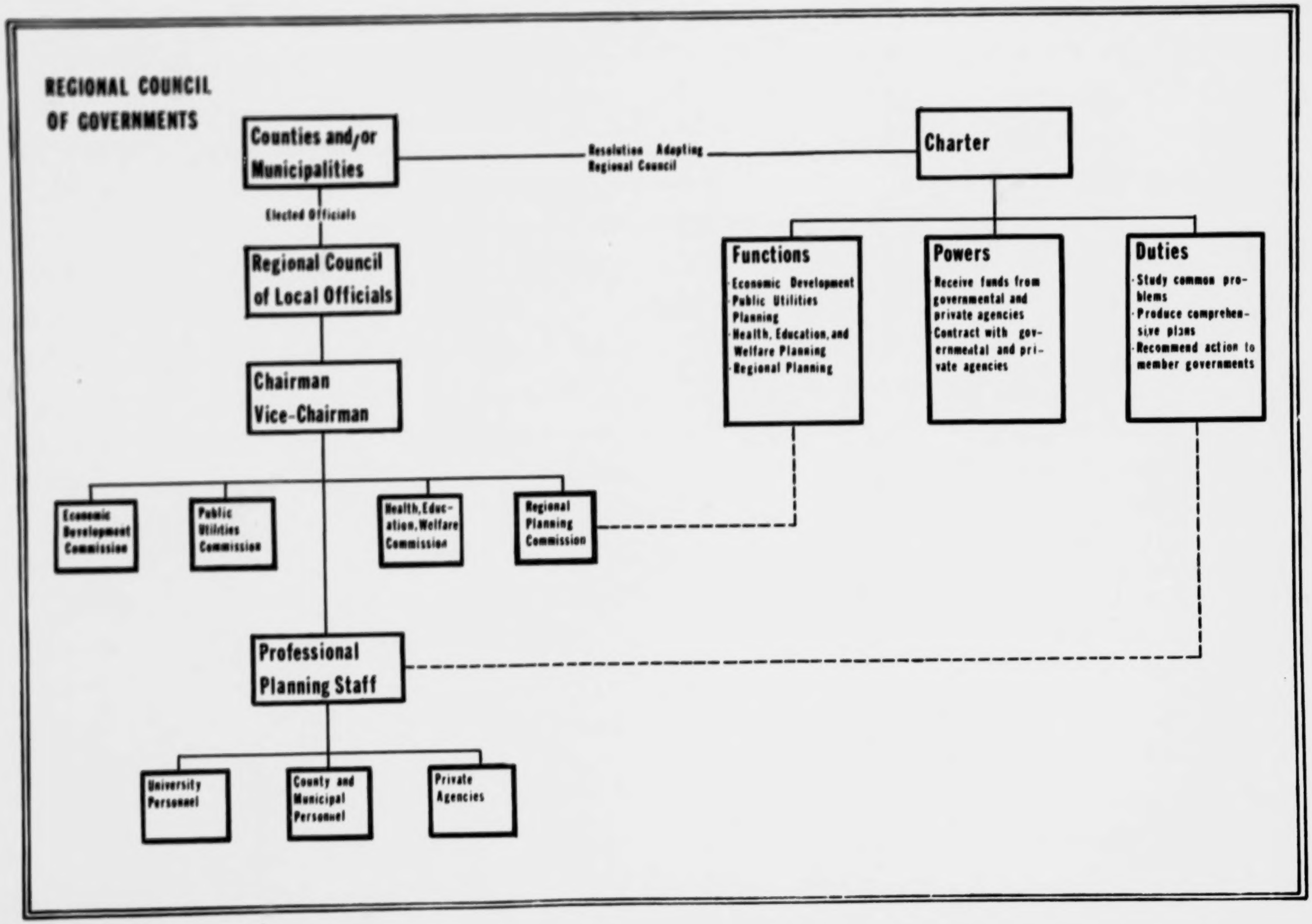

REGIONAL COUNCIL OF GOVERNMENTS
Counties and/or Municipalities
Resolution Adopting Regional Council
Charter
Elected Officials
Regional Council of Local Officials
Chairman
Vice-Chairman
Functions
Economic Development
Public Utilities Planning
Health, Education, and Welfare Planning
Regional Planning
Powers
Receive funds from governmental and private agencies
Contract with governmental and private agencies
Duties
Study common problems
Produce comprehensive plans
Recommend action to member governments
Economic Development Commission
Public Utilities Commission
Health, Education, Welfare Commission
Regional Planning Commission
Professional Planning Staff
University Personnel
County and Municipal Personnel
Private Agencies

figure 19

participation. It could be instituted in stages first as a forum for discussion or as a clearing house for problem study, and eventually it would evolve into a regional service corporation performing as an arm of government. At this stage it would have definite powers and jurisdiction and would be assisted in decision making by an advisory planning board. Because of its governmental powers, the regional service corporation would be far more effective in implementing problem solving programs.

Intergovernmental cooperation and consolidation of functions on some levels would lead to a number of benefits at low cost and without drastic super planning. Our survey of the lc cal governments in the four-county area (Figure 20) revealed that some services were sufficiently provided for by the counties and the municipalities or could be profided through improvements within the ex isting governmental framework. However, some services were not provided at all, partly because the municipalities did not have a clear conception of the emerging problems and partly because there was no administrative machinery for dealing with these proablem

Seven major problem areas became evident as a result of the survey:

1. Low-income public housing
2. Land use planning
3. Pollution control
4. Garbage disposal
5. Recreation planning and development
6. Central purchasing
7. Economic development planning

It is difficult or impossible for the small local governing bodies to aid in the solution of problems in the above-mentioned subject areas or to adequately finance planning for and provision of the requisite services.

TOWN SERVICES SURVEY

Problem Areas

Towns in Five County Area	FIRE	HOUSING	WATER RESOURCES	REFUSE	POLICE	TAXATION	PUBLIC RECREATION	HEALTH	ECONOMIC DEVEL.	EDUCATION
WAKE FOREST	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
FRANKLINTON	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
LOUISBURG	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
CLAYTON	A	N	A	A	A	I	A	A	A	A
SMITHFIELD	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
NASHVILLE	A	N	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
SPRINGHOPE	A	N	A	A	A	A	A	A	N	A
ZEBULON	A	I	A	A	A	A	I	A	A	A
WENDELL	A	I	A	A	A	A	I	A	A	A
MIDDLESEX	A	N	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
SELMA	A	A	A	A	A	I	A	A	A	A
KENLY	A	N	A	A	A	I	A	A	N	A
SIMS	I	N	A	A	I	I	I	I	I	A
BAILEY	A	N	A	A	A	A	I	I	A	A
BUNN	A	N	N	A	A	I	I	A	N	A
KNIGHTDALE	A	N	A	A	A	A	I	A	N	A
ROLESVILLE	A	N	A	A	A	A	I	A	N	A
YOUNGSVILLE	A	N	A	A	A	A	I	A	N	A

A—adequate I—inadequate N—non existing

figure 20

There would be several advantages in establishing a council of governments encompassing the four-county area. Nash, Johnston, and Franklin counties have already separately received Federal assistance for planning county-wide sewer and water systems, and inter-county coordination in such activities is now a matter of prime importance.

Low-income housing is virtually nonexistent in this area with the exception of Selma· an unusually progressive town in this respect in comparis n with its neighbors. The Low Income Housing Development Corporation (LIHDC: Private state-wide agency which has designated three areas in North Carolina as proposed regions in which to set up housing programs. Our proposal is to be the program for the region which includes Zebulon.) is looking for areas in which to build demonstration projects, and an effective governmental organization would be of great benefit because of the emphasis this and other assistance organizations place on effective administrative machinery. A government set up to deal with such problems can more easily attract potential investors.

Central purchasing is a very real possibility in the even of consolidation of local government. Through this means, local communities could obtain needed equipment and supplies by cooperative purchasing.

Land use planning could be effectively carried out by an advisory board under the regional service corporation. At present planning of any kind is in a very fragmentary state and any attempt at ordering the land use decision making would be of decided benefit to the overall social and economic welfare of the region. Costs could be reduced because development programs could be coordinated between communities to eliminate overlap, duplication, and conflicts of interest. Recreation must be considered as a part of the land use spectrum. It is a neglected function, and the

problems which a lack of recreational facilities present will continue to increase as haphazard development eliminates present recreational opportunities now taken for granted.

Pollution control, now cautiously exercised solely at the state level, and garbage disposal are critical problems to this industrializing area. The latter in particular requires much experimentation through well-administered local government. A strong local government organized on the model we suggest can exert pressure through the state legislature to obtain stronger pollution control laws.

An analysis of the survey indicated that Louisburg and Smithfield had to be eliminated from the original proposed area, because they lay in areas where there was adequate provision for needs. Louisburg being a major tobacco center, has an economic development commissoin that has been functioning for several years. It has an adequate labor supply to serve the new hosiery industries moving into the area; and has the existing housing to provide for this labor supply.

Smithfield, also a tobacco center and at the junction of several major highway routes, is fast becoming the urban center for Johnston County.

Because they were larger cities, Louisburg and Smithfield have larger treasuries and greater adequacy for resources to serve industry, such as river access and railroad access. Also, due to the amount of population they had to serve, there most likely would have been an inbalance of funds provided for the area, between the smaller towns and themselves. Thus there was left a smaller area consisting of towns relatively equal in area and population, and with all similar problems. (Figure 21)

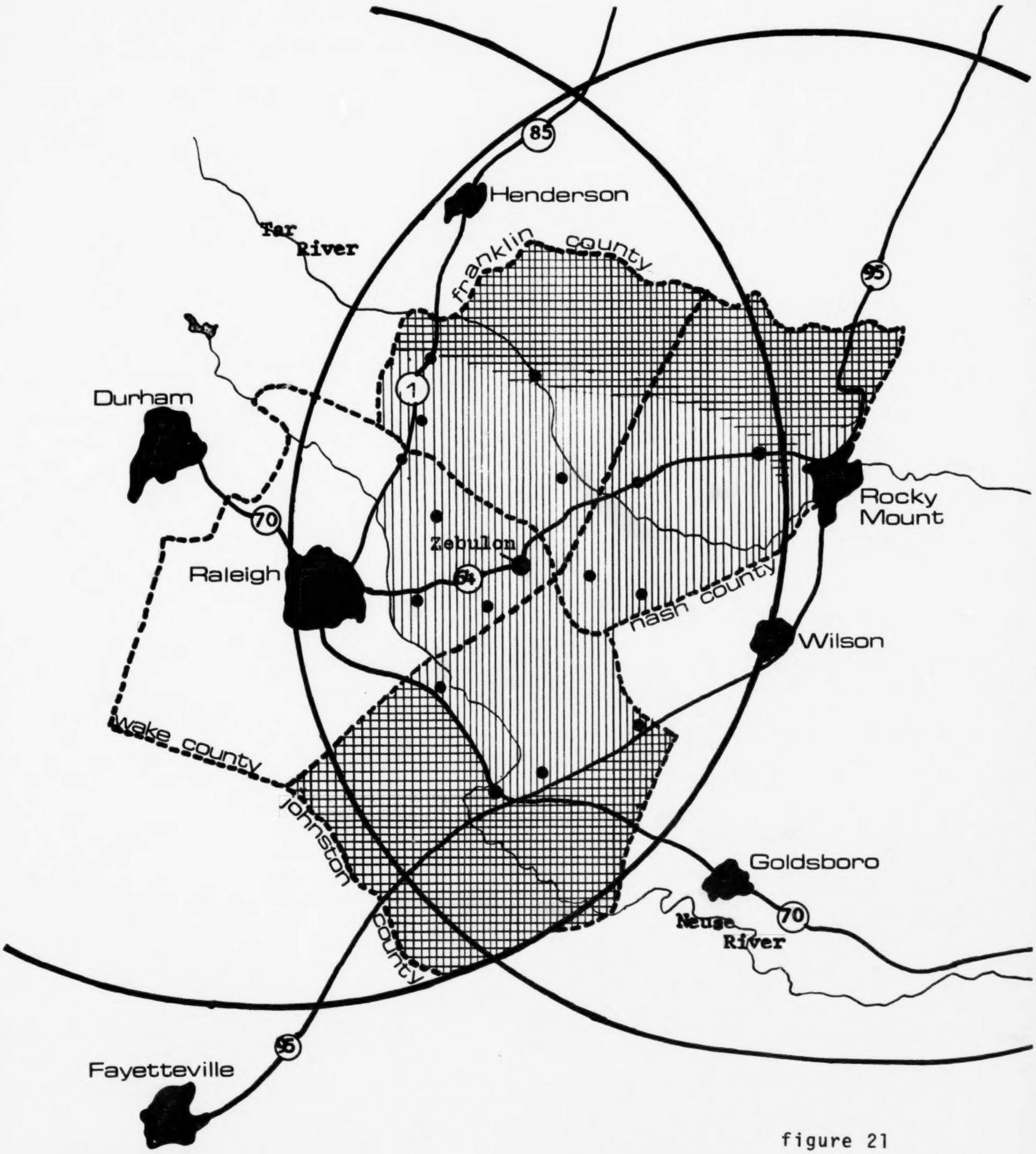


figure 21

original proposed area

area of adequate provision for needs and eliminated from proposed area

PROPOSED JURISDICTION ■ REGIONAL COUNCIL OF GOVERNMENTS

In accordance with a concept termed "economics of scale". A regional service corporation evolving from an initial council of governments can provide these increasingly necessary functions at the lowest per capita cost. The seven functions listed previously would be very costly to administer solely on a municipal basis. Our survey also indicated that the per capita costs of some of the services now provided by the small towns are higher than in the nearby metropolitan areas. Such a reorganization as we suggest would provide effective planning and administrative means as well as a larger aggregate population of approximately one hundred fifty-two thousand. The area and its component jurisdictions would therefore, be in a more favorable position for receiving Federal grants, loans, and technical assistance. Zebulon in particular, by demonstrating its importance in a regional context, would be more likely to obtain Model Cities funds. The town could thus present its case as an case study to be used in solving similar problems in other areas throughout the region, and in doing so more fully comply with the intent of the Model Cities legistation.

Land Development Task Force

The work of the land development task force was structured according to three general phases of study. The first involved the adoption of a general model of land development which was capable of dealing not only with the present settlement pattern but was also sensitive to the factors responsible for it.

1. The model views land development as dependent on certain priming actions.

   A thorough listing would include both natural and man-made features such as: location of major highways, water areas, rail lines, and public policy decisions such as water service, sewer service, police protection, etc.

2. These priming actions give rise to secondary actions by developers, builders and investors and by individual families, merchants, and institutions.

3. Together, the priming and secondary actions produce settlement patterns . These settlement patterns are recognized land use areas. A general classification might include residential, commercial, industrial, and institutional development.

4. Intervening measures are seen to exist and serve to indicate the continual feedback and change in the relationship described above.

Examples of these are land use, density, and flow systems analysis.

Through maps, interviews, written source material, and on-the-spot survey, such priming actions, settlement patterns, and intervening measures existing in Zebulon were recorded in map form.

Specifically, information was plotted on the following variables:

1. Commercial type and location
2. Industrial location
3. Residential location
4. Commercial quality (3 grades)
5. Recreational location
6. Proximity studies for schools, shopping centers, and town center
7. Water system extent
8. Sewer system extent
9. Road, gutter, and sidewalk condition
10. Parking location
11. Soil and water conditions in immediately surrounding region.

This first phase of the study was essentially concerned with a description of the community in terms of resulting patterns and existing resources.

The second phase of investigation was involved with evaluating certain patterns in terms of their relative quality.

With the completion of a house-to-house survey of structure type and condition, a number of definable problems in the area of physical development were discovered. Three defined areas of dilapidated housing were found. The Barbee Street area on the southeast has the largest number of substandard houses. An area in the northeast and a small area in the west part of town also have substandard housing. These three areas correlate quite closely with the black settlement patterns of the town. (Figure 22)

figure 22 **Structural Condition**

minor repair
major repair
delapidated

Information associated with social and economic problems was plotted according to specific residential areas. (Figure 23)

For the purposes of applying the accumulated information to a specific planning proposal, a mapping technique was employed which effectively described the various "neighborhoods" in the community. Certain physical features or activities were found to be inappropriate to residential development. These may serve as a boundary or barrier to delimit residential neighborhoods, or they may exist as nuisances to the future development of the area. The degree to which each is a nuisance partially determines the quality of the living environment. The following factors were plotted:

1. major trafficked streets and highways
2. railway lines
3. hazardous industrial area
4. major shopping areas
5. water areas
6. areas subject to flood
7. areas of unbuildable soils structure

Ten potential residential areas were delimited by defining the areas regarded undesirable for residential settlement. The areas may be compared in terms of their relative desirability. (Figure 24)

Area 1 appears the most desirable. With regard to expansion, two constraints limit the area beyond the present town limits. The proposed highway 64 by-pass will cut-off this area as it passes, NW to SE, immediately below Wakefield. Also, there is one relatively large area of land deemed undesirable because of physiographic reasons. This land may be developed, with additional investment in drainage, infill and grading.

Area 2 represents a limited area of undeveloped land before the highway 64 right-of-way restricts the growth. Area 1, which physically bounds area 2 on the west, can

Figure 10 Socio-Economic Problems

■ major problem areas

Figure 28 **Residential Areas**

be considered comparable to area 1 in terms of extensive undeveloped land and good potential for growth. This area would offer good residential land for future neighborhoods.

Areas 4 and 5 seem decidedly less desirable for residential development. Extensive bottomlands present problems for expansion and the areas are both physically and psychologically cut off from the main body of the town by the railroad tracks. One feature of these areas, as in areas 2 and 3, is the potential development of inter-racial neighborhoods.

Areas 6 and 7 are open-ended in the southwest direction of Wendell. The influence of major roads and railroad service make this area good potential industrial land; this should restrict their potential as residential land. The remaining areas 8, 9, and 10 present different problems. These areas are "land-locked" by the grid of limiting factors. These areas will feel the pressure of expanded activity and development in the central business district. Areas 9 and 10 function essentially as a single neighborhood and contain some desirable environmental characteristics such as established trees and good structural quality older residences. Area 8 is less desirable and more likely to feel pressure from expansion of light industry and warehousing on the south and business activity on the east.

The third phase of the study incorporated the descriptions and evaluations of the first and second portions into a planning actions program for the community of Zebulon.

Zebulon Community-Development Plan

Definite areas of the community deserve priority for development in a community-wide planning program. There are good reasons for placing special emphasis on certain areas of the community: first, because of obvious physical needs such as building improvement, streets and sidewalks as well as municipal services. Second, some neighborhoods also have deficiencies in terms of recreational and community facilities. These two factors are almost consistent with neighborhoods which contain lower-income families. Because of these factors and limited resources , these neighborhoods are less likely to be able to improve unassisted. The selection of priority neighborhoods is based on their present physical situation, their potential for growth and their inability to improve without special assistance. Areas of the community which are capable of growth and improvement by private development are not considered immediate problem areas.

The special-interest program includes three general areas of the community. (Figure 25)

1. First priority is given to Areas 2 and 3. This is a predominately Low Income black residential neighborhood partially divided by highway 64. The need for a program of growth and recreational development is necessary in this area, which contains available land. The location will be improved by the proposed by-pass and by the addition of proposed municipal streets. Proximity to the schools is good.

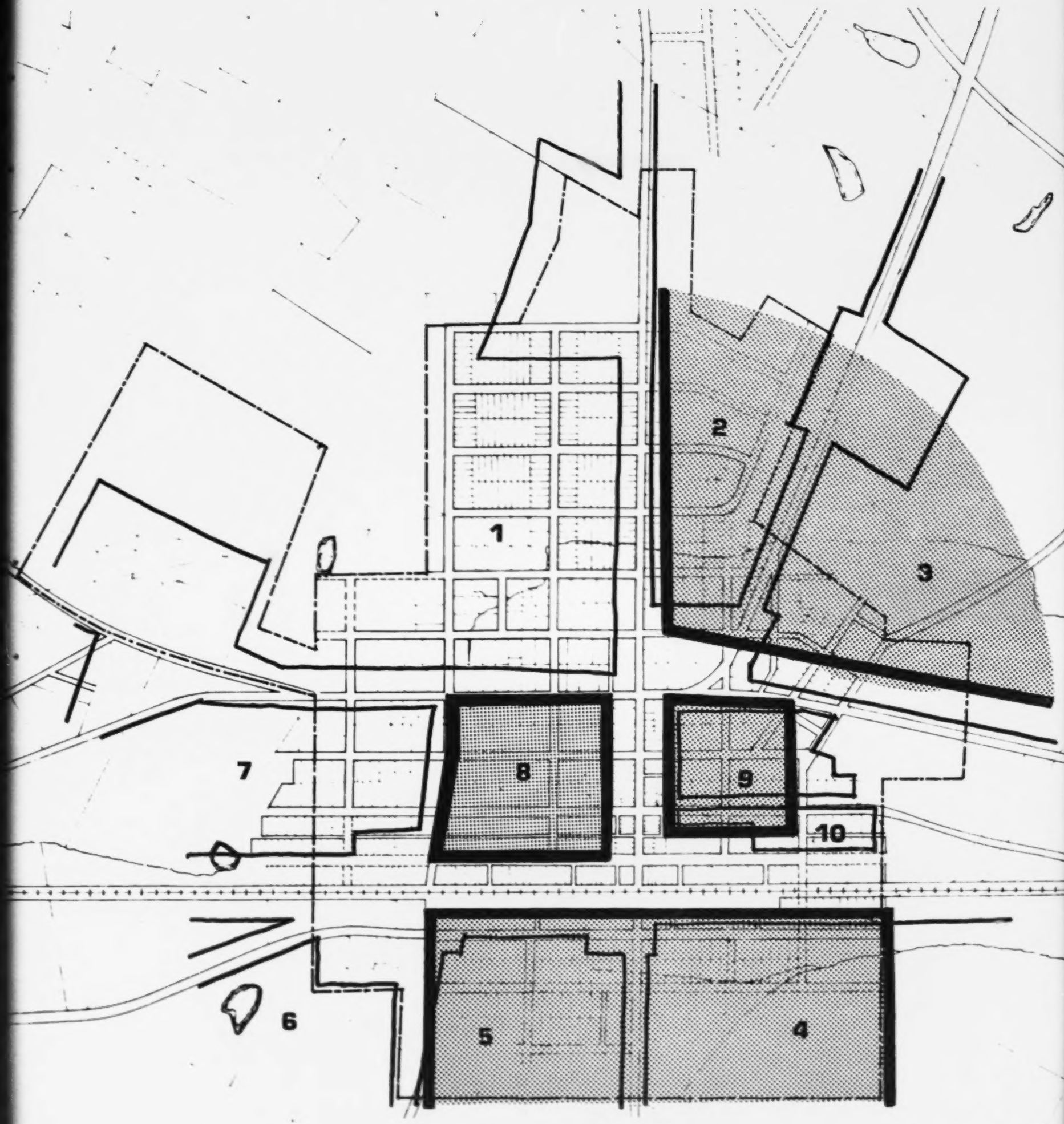


figure 25 **Priority Planning Areas**

2. The second area does not have the natural potential of the first. However, the need for improvement is greater. Back of new development in this area, non-existent community facilities, poor streets and declining physical structures characterize the general area. However, the area could develop further south if proper drainage and municipal streets and services can be extended. More development away from the railroad with proper recreational and pedestrian scale street facilities would greatly improve this area as a residential neighborhood.

3. The third general area includes those residential areas immediately adjacent to the central business district both east and west. These are areas 8, 9, and 10. These neighborhoods have many desirable residential qualities but suffer from the inability to maintain themselves in the face of commercial expansion. However, it is vital that the Zebulon community maintain areas of commercial, municipal and residential mix. Residential growth in these areas should be encouraged by increasing density. The proposal is to develop a municipal services center in the eastern portion described by the business on the west, Sycamore Street to the north, Poplar Street to the east and Vance Street to the south. A major central open space or community plaza linked to the shopping street by pedestrian scale open ways could provide an active combination of community facilities, shopping and residential development. This would be an appropriate attempt to centralize commerical growth and revitalize the downtown area.

SOCIAL FABRIC TASK FORCE

The Social Fabric Task Force's responsibility was to provide a description of the socio-economic conditions in Zebulon, which required systematic investigation into the demographic, economic, and social networks in the community.

A portion of this information was gleaned from from house surveys conducted by the Office of Economic Opportunity in Zebulon in 1966. This partiuclar survey was directed toward low income people.

While basic deurographic data was collected, family income, ownership of dwelling and location by race was plotted on a map (figure 26) of Zebulon.

In order to discover in more detail the social characteristic of all income groups in the town as well as develop a statistical base, a survey was conducted of the socio-economic conditions to distinguish between the different neighborhoods.

The town was divided into four tracts (figure 27) with Cannon and ArendellAvenues as boundaries.

figure 26 **Ownership - Income - Race**

own

do not own

under $1200/year

black

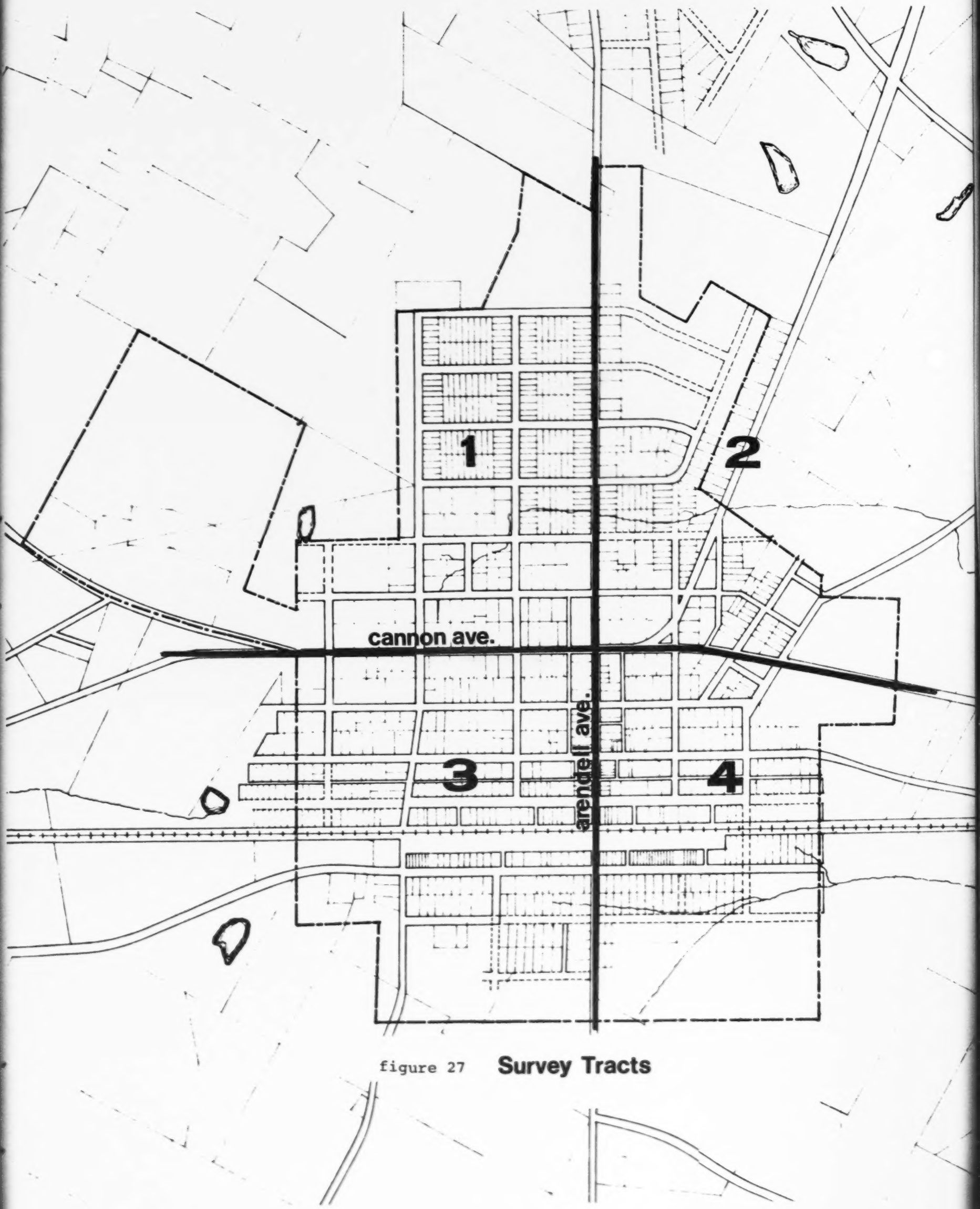


figure 27 **Survey Tracts**

Town Survey	I	II	III	IV
Number of Responses	8	12	40	35
Average Family Income	$4312	$2342	$2450	$2337
Average Per Capita Income	$1437	574	845	676.00
Average Family Size	3	4.16	2.90	3.46
Total Number of Houses	160	152	176	126
Percentage of Responses	5%	7.9%	22.7%	27.7%
Number of Black Houses	0	96	31	35
Percent of Black Houses	0%	63.1%	17.6%	27.7%
Percentage of Total Houses	26%	24.7%	28.6%	20.5%

These data were placed on transparent overlay sheets for comparison. In comparing the overlays figure 23, it was found that specific areas have a high degree of correlation based on the following factors:

1. eighth grade education or below
2. income of $1200 annually and less
3. approximately 4 or more in their family
4. do not own their dwellings
5. about ½ of the inhabitants are unemployed
6. about ½ of the family heads are over 64.

As shown on the map, three areas appear to have greater socio-economic problems. Of these three areas two are black, illustrating the areas that require immediate attention in the community.

With an introductory assessment of the community, the Task Force extended its focus to a larger scope -- the social patterns in the community and particularly the shopping and recreation patterns in Zebulon.

SHOPPING

In seeking to describe the patterns of general mercantile shopping in Zebulon, visible characteristics and frequency of shoppers at four shopping loci in Zebulon were observed. (Figure 28)

1. the Piggly Wiggly shopping center
2. Wedgwood Shopping Center
3. Arendell Street between Sycamore and Horton
4. Arendell Street between Horton and Vance

The initial assumption was that there would be a difference in racial proportions corresponding to the racial character of the immediate vicinity of the shopping location.

Observations and tracking studies were made to identify any associations that would exist between the ages of shoppers and groupings of shoppers and whether the shoppers were rural dwellers and townspeople. Previous studies suggest that farm populations typically shop in family groups. However, this hypothesis required verifications.

From the tracking counts, it was found that the percentages of racial distribution of the shoppers at the observation points did not correspond to the racial composition of the township or of the immediate vicinity

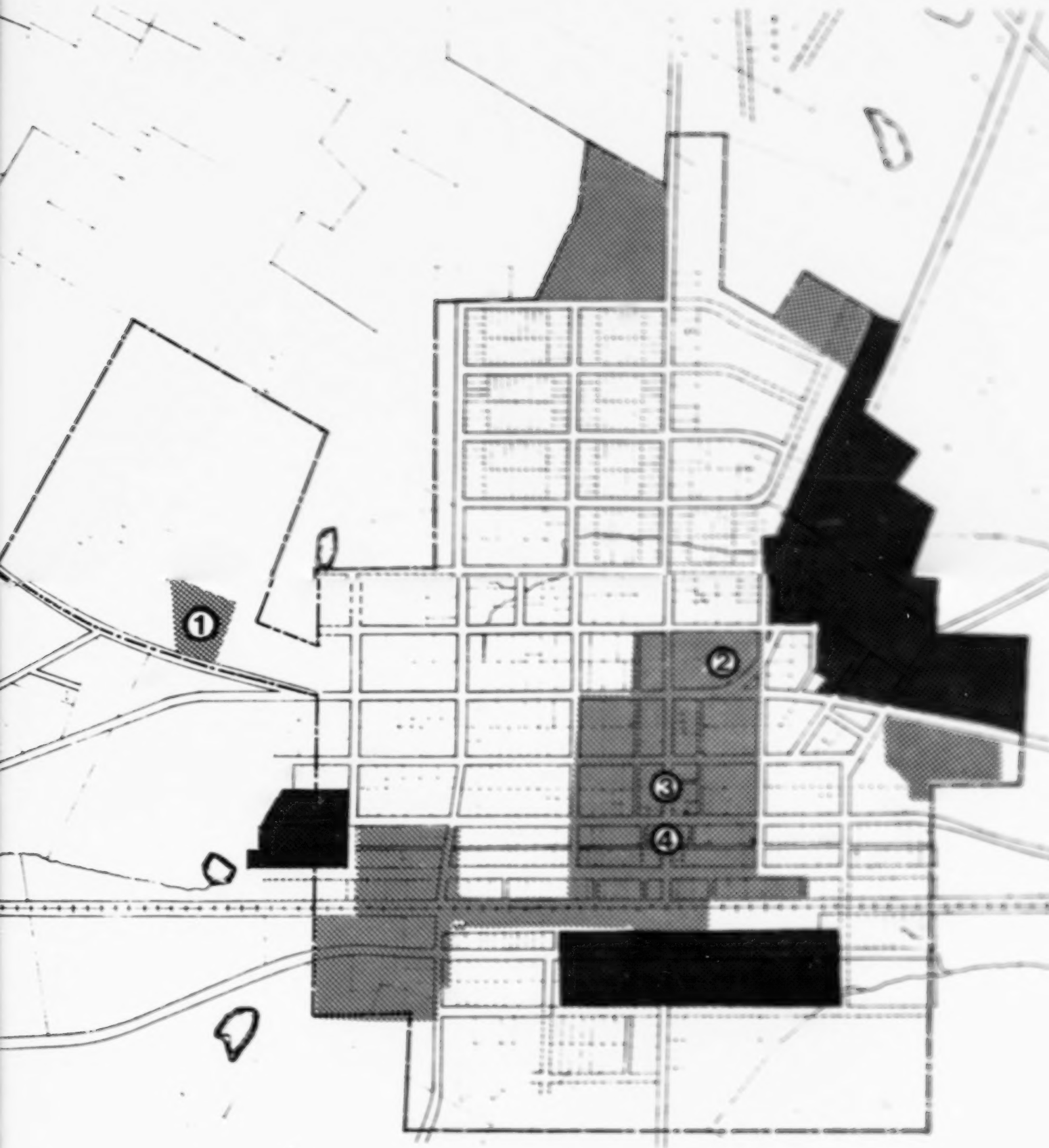


figure 28 **Shopping Areas**

2. Use a format of the questionnaire survey, questionnaire survey and collect concerning the practice- tion information of children in the neighbour- hood.
3. Then questionnaire survey adjustment as to obtain information:
4. Then questionnaire to the time format of day at which the survey questionnaire survey and collect, select questionnaire adjustment survey and distribute, and children, computer- questionnaire survey and collect children on time questionnaire.
5. Then questionnaire survey which survey and children's questionnaire survey and collect, select questionnaire children distribute questionnaire survey and which questionnaire survey and children's questionnaire survey and which questionnaire survey and children's questionnaire survey and which questionnaire survey and children's

Figure 28: Pipeline Location
Chevron (W)
Chevron (L)
Water source
Lake source

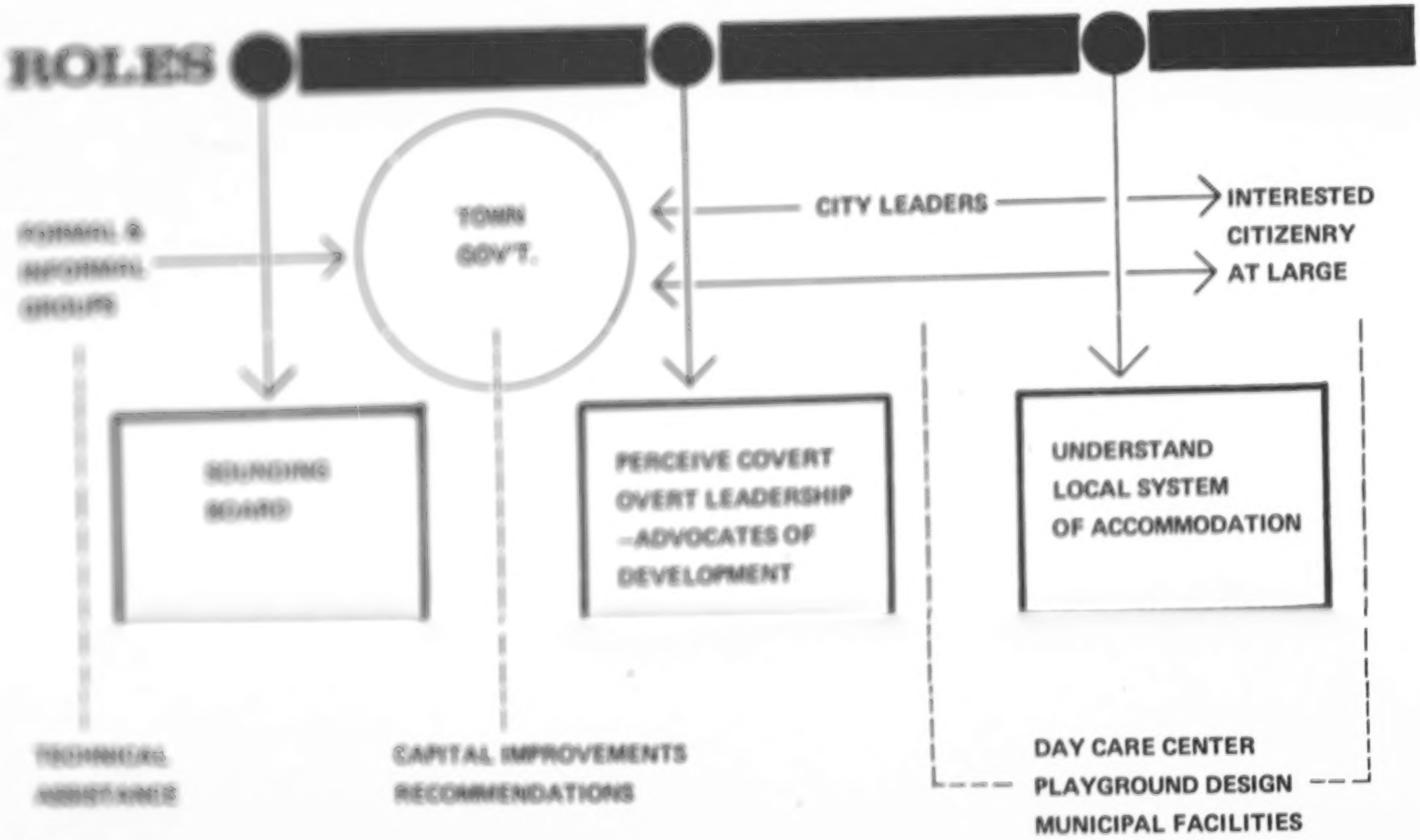
Stereophonics
Locations
offices
works
offices
works
Leisure complex
Office complex
88

The ecological neighborhood for the whites extends beyond the boundaries of Zebulon into Raleigh and to the nearby four-county area.

Clearly, the residents of all the neighborhoods are long time dwellers in Zebulon and have stable activity patterns.

Social Action Task Force (Advocacy)

The basic concept of advocacy planning is to "PLAN WITH THE PEOPLE, NOT FOR THEM". It has been felt that the interests of the poor are not given adequate consideration in the process of 'urban renewal'. Their social, physical, and economic needs are not met with to their satisfaction. They have no voice even in their own future renewal programs. A new movement among students and dissident architects, planners, etc. with new clientele as the urban poor, took shape in the form of advocacy planning. Advocacy stresses the need to shift from the system of unitary planning to pluristic planning. The practice of unitary planning has discouraged full participation by citizens in the planning and decision making process. It is one dimensional where bureaucratic power imposes its decisions on the poor without considering their social and other needs. The advocate planner, on the other hand, takes the view that any plan is the embodiment of particular group interests and, therefore, stresses that it is important to see that any group which has its interests at stake in the planning process should have those interests articulated. The planning in this context becomes two dimensional or pluristic planning, where the planners as well as the citizens, who are to be affected by the plan, take part together in the entire, actually the objectives of advocacy planning are:


ROLES
TOWN GOV'T.
CITY LEADERS
INTERESTED CITIZENRY AT LARGE
PERCEIVE COVERT OVERT LEADERSHIP –ADVOCATES OF DEVELOPMENT
UNDERSTAND LOCAL SYSTEM OF ACCOMMODATION
CAPITAL IMPROVEMENTS RECOMMENDATIONS
DAY CARE CENTER
PLAYGROUND DESIGN
MUNICIPAL FACILITIES

1. To discourage the practice of unitary planning.
2. Help people make their interests felt, especially the people of low income communities.
3. To serve as a means of better informing the public of the alternative choices open.
4. To act as a provider of information, analyst of future conditions, and a detailer of means.
5. To combat poverty and to propose programs affording new and better opportunities to the members of organization and families.
6. Prepare plans for low income group of people that would reflect their real needs.

In Zebulon a team of students were identified as Advocates with their work categorized under the social action task force. Initially, five objectives were outlined by the group:

1. To make the low-income blacks of the town aware of the advocacy group's presence and their role in the community.
2. To create friendly relations and gain confidence and trust with this population group.
3. To identify individuals and organizations interested in community development.
4. To find out the immediate needs of the low-income group.
5. To encourage local participation at different stages.

To enable the fulfillment of this mission, an office was established in the town, independent of the town government both in its location and in its functioning. This office led to the formation of Community Development Group as a service center to the poverty population.

Through direct personal contact with citizens we will be attempting to [illegible], [illegible], church services, and [illegible] contact meetings, natural events that began to be apparent.

From this interaction, the resulting services were to be creation of improved

ORGANIZATIONS

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	[illegible]
	●		●	●	●	●	●		●	●	●	●	[illegible]
	●	●	●	●	●		●	●	●	●	●	●	[illegible]
●				●	●		●	●	●		●	●	[illegible]
			●		●	●		●	●	●	●	●	[illegible]
				●	●		●	●	●	●		●	[illegible]
●				●	●		●	●			●	●	[illegible]
●		●				●			●	●	●	●	[illegible]
	●		●	●				●	●	●	●	●	N.A.A.C.P.
	●	●	●		●	●	●			●			INVESTMENT ENTERPRISING
					●	●		●	●	●		●	[illegible] COUNTRY CLUB
							●	●	●	●	●	●	LIONS CLUB
						●	●			●	●	●	CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
					●	●			●		●	●	GARDEN CLUB
		●	●			●	●			●			Z.I.P.
				●	●		●	●		●			COMMUNITY COUNCIL
						●		●	●		●		AMERICAN LEGION

1. Adult Education in job taining, family planning and management.
2. Family rehabilitation through case studies and agency coordination.
3. Education programs for high school drop-outs as well as continuing education.
4. Employment opportunities coordinated with day-care.
5. Housing conditions.
6. Recreation and Leisure Programs.
7. Municipal Utilities Services and Capital Facilities.

Involvement continues in the following projects:
1. "Clean-up, Fix-up" Campaign.
2. Planning, design and construction of neighborhood playgrounds.
3. Art classes in the Community Development Group office.
4. Youth seminars in community pride and community improvements.
5. Programming and design of a multi-service center.
6. Programming and design of a day care facility
7. Planning municipal capital improvements
8. Design and Development of industrialized housing systems for low income families.

Appendix I
Census Data and Observations

EDUCATION

	white	non-white	total
Less than 8th grade over 25 years old	115	327	442
Total enrollment, grades 1-12	612	1042	1654
Schooling, 25 years and over			
none	36	41	
1-4	178	266	
5-7	408	345	
8	169	111	

There are three schools in the Little River township. Wakelon High School is predominately white and is located in Zebulon. Four miles from Zebulon is Riley Hill Elementary School, an all Negro school. Both Zebulon schools are overcrowded and are to be augmented by a consolidated, integrated high school in 1970, pending the passage of a bond issue.

At this time there are no adult education facilities. Classes are conducted in the court room and in the Community Action Center office by Holding Technical Institute whose campus is 25 miles away. Since technical institutes take only the best students, vocational training is at this time inadequate.

Observations

a. Wake County appropriates $609 per year per child. This is twice that of an adjoining county. Wake County has maximum supplemental tax for schools--50¢ per $100 property value. Other counties have no such tax.

b. Many parents send their children to Wake County schools across the line and pay tuition.

c. Wake County desegregation by 1970 - geographic Nash County - "freedom of choice plan" Johnston County - Federal court case

d. A multi-county coordinated school system is needed to educate children of the area and to provide an extension service for interested adults.

e. Students living as close as 2 miles to Zebulon must go as far as 18 miles to school, because of the county lines.

f. People do not respond to pre-vocational training opportunities for their chances are not much better. The best trained get the jobs.

g. Those with already satisfactory communication skills are the ones to take advantage of vocational training.

h. Adult education is to prepare them for this training but many feel there is no real chance, an attitude of futility toward adult education and vocational training, for there are so few available jobs anyway.

i. From indications and interviews the School Bond issue will not be passed. Many past issues have failed, and some seem to feel that integration can be avoided if no new school is built.

CRIME AND JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

Total number of persons under 18	2532
Under 18, arrests per 1,000	21
Under 16, judicial delinquent	27
Total number of persons over 18	3691
Over 18, arrests per 1,000	42

Recreation Facilities

a. schools
b. 2½ acre public park surrounded by white housing section
c. adjacent club-owned swimming pool
d. wooded area
e. picnic area, swings and seldom maintained dirt tennis court

NOTE: no facilities for blacks

HEALTH

	Little River
Infant death per 1,000	
non-white	47.9
white	18.4
incidence of TB per 1,000	.5

a. one of four branches of the Wake County Hospital Authority was located in Zebulon as of 1961.
b. ten rooms - two beds each
staff - three general practitioners
c. operates no health clinic

UNEMPLOYMENT	LITTLE RIVER	FIVE TOWNSHIP AREA
Civilian work force, male	2255	5790
Unemployed (able and available)	132	521
Percent	5.9%	9.0%
Civilian work force, female	1355	3025
Unemployed	366	817
Percent	27.0%	27.0%

WELFARE	
Persons under 21	2893
Persons receiving AFDC	8.4%
Persons 65 and over	434
Percent over 65 receiving old-age pension	16.6%

1960 CENSUS OF POPULATION, VOLUME I, PART 35

Little River Township	1960	1950	1940
	6053	6331	5918
Zebulon	1534	1378	1070

POPULATION	ZEBULON	LITTLE RIVER
Male	691	2933
Female	843	3120
White	1145	3596
Non-white	389	2457
Households		
Total	480	1550
Non-white	108	500
White	372	
Males 14 years and older (68% of total male population)		
Single	91 (18%)	569
Married	384 (77%)	1309
Widowed/divorced	21 (5%)	58
Females 14 years and older (70% of total female population)		
Single	101 (16.5%)	455
Married	397 (65%)	1355
Widowed/Divorced	115 (18%)	295

FAMILY INCOME	LITTLE RIVER
Total number of families	$1350
Number under $3000	737
Percent under $3000	55%
Percent non-white	
Percent white	
Percent non-white under $1000	29%
Percent white under $1000	15%
White per capita income	$1228
Non-white per capita income	392

Source: Land Development Plan, 1962

Observations:

a. Percent of families under $3000

Dunn	55.8	Franklin County
Ferrells	65.6	Nash County
Drywells	63.2	Nash County
O'Neals	66.7	Johnston County

b. One-third of the labor force is employed in Raleigh because of the higher wage scale.
c. In the four-county area, 60% of the families earn under $3000 per year.

EMPLOYMENT-Zebulon

White	Male	Female	Total
	549	652	1221
employed			
White	467		
Retired	130		
Non-white			
	70	73	143
Unemployed			
	21	36	

Source: Little River Community Action Center 1968

Observations

a. There is an abundance of unwanted agricultural skills, but not enough people trained for technical jobs to promote industry.

b. There is a danger of low-income exploitative industry for the menial tasks. At the same time due to lack of training of local residents new industries will bring in their own management from outside the area. This would tend to continue the economic drag felt in the area.

c. The economy could be stimulated by requiring an increase in service thus allowing the local government to concentrate on quality.

d. Since now only the skilled get jobs, there must be a redefinition of jobs which would reflect actual skills required and provide communication of labor information.

HOUSING

	Little River	Zebulon	Barbee	Pitt
			(streets)	
Total Units	1225	569	43	44
Substandard	637 (52%)	193 (34%)	42 (39%)	26 (39%)
Dilapidated	282 (23%)	68 (12%)	23 (53%)	10 (23%)

Observations

a. There is an extreme inadequacy of existing housing, especially in the Negro areas (Barbee and Pitt Streets). Most new houses built are in the moderate to higher income range. Thus the low income housing shortage is intensifying.

b. There exist many unsafe sanitary conditions. Often privies are the only facilities available. There are few indoor waste disposal facilities in the lower income homes.

c. There are numerous unsafe cooking and heating facilities in the lower income homes.

d. Overcrowding is prevalent in the Black community.

e. There is no rural public housing, causing a lack of water and sewage facilities.

f. Because of the unattractive investment potential there is a lack of standard low income housing. Of the 43 housing units on Barbee Street, nine are privately owned, 15 are family owned and 19 are landlord owned. The families do not have the money to invest and the landlords won't invest.

9. Displacement of families has been through violation of code requirements.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

"Progress is a nice word But change is its motivator. And change has its enemies."
--Robert F. Kennedy

When any change in the status quo is proposed, certain men for certain reasons will oppose it. If the change is to be realized, its proponents must identify the enemies and analyze their strengths and weaknesses. Otherwise, the change is doomed to defeat.

The Model Cities program undertaken by the local government in the small (1800 people), rural community of Zebulon, North Carolina threatened the status quo. This program designed to rebuild slum areas; to expand housing, job and income opportunities; to reduce dependence on welfare payments; to improve educational facilities and programs; to combat disease and crime; and generally to improve living conditions for the people who live in slum areas conflicted with the vested interests of many of the men who composed the status quo. As a member of the Zebulon Community Development Group (composed of fifth year design students from North Carolina State University), I felt that our efforts to realize such a Model Cities program were destined to failure unless we could gain a knowledge of the composition and mechanics of the status quo. It is only after we gain such knowledge, that we can design strategies to cope with the "enemies of change" as well as the proponents of change.

Appendix II

Perception of Change
By Henry King Burgwyn

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

"The researcher is to choose issue-areas as occupying an important place in the life of the community. Furthermore, he ought to study actual behavior by investigating newspapers, informants, and other sources. Information about reputations of actors is of immeasurable value. These must always be accompanied by information concerning actual behavior so that fact may be distinguished from myth."

--Nelson W. Polsby

The theoretical framework of my research consists of three stages. However, the approach to study of community power was one of issue-making. Participation in community decisions is not to be equated with power, but rather, the activities of different actors are weighted and then, by means of an operational definition of power, appraised.

The first stage of the research consists of a "positional analysis". This technique serves to define the potential power offices in the community's institutionized economic, political, and civic structures. The "positional analysis" deals only with the formal, overt posisitions, not the covert ones which are many times more important.

In the second stage the "reputational" technique was utilized to determine perceptions of power and influence. This stage can be divided into five subsections, which are as follows:

a. images of powerful groups
b. images of influentials in different areas of life
c. perceived relative influence by local leaders
d. images of the unnamed power source
e. varying conceptions on how to stimulate public interest

The third stage of the research consists of reconstructing all the decisions made concerning the Model Cities Program, which was the primary "issue". This analysis was to render a true picture of the actual behavior of those men involved.

Once information has been gathered concerning the potential, perceptual, and actual aspects of power, an operational definition of power can be established to evaluate the various actors.

The Relationship of the Problem to Previous Research

The most important research concerning power structures can be divided into two categories: reputational and plural analysis. The first, reputational, is characterized by the work of Floyed Hunter in his book Community Power Structure. In general, his procedure is to determine community-power structures on the basis of judgements by community members who are considered "knowledgeable" about community life. These"judges" select names from lists of potential candidates based on imputed degrees of influence. Those persons most frequently selected according to the given criteria are said to constitute the power structure. This method of research has received much criticism concerning the arbitrary selection of "formal"

judges and the wide variety of issues concerned in the research. The reputational method is often said to only identify those persons who have the reputation for being influential. One of the basic assumptions of the reputational method seems to be that power is exercised behind the scenes and that it is next to impossible to obtain an accurate picture of the structure of power by attending to overt behavior. Thus the researcher must rely on the inside information supplied to him by a panel of knowledgeable community members. For example, Hunter describes men of power in Regional City enforcing their decisions by persuasion, intimidation, coercion, and, if necessary, force. Nelson W. Polsby charges that this assumption of covert leadership often leads researchers "todisbelieve their senses and to substitute unfounded speculation for plain fact. Another danger underlying the assumption that power is exercised covertly is what Robert Dahl has referred to as the "fallacy of infinite regression." If observable behavior is not to be regarded as a reliable index of power, then one must search behind the scenes for centers of power behind the actors who carry out the drama on stage. Once these covert power-holders are identified, the question arises as to whether there may not be another group of power-holders behind these, and others yet behind them, and so on.

While the reputational method has its faults, it is useful in describing the perceived distribution of power in the local community. If, for example, it can be shown that the way in which the power structure is perceived helps determine the way in which people react to it, reputations for power will definitely provide a useful variable in the study of power. It is for this reason that I included a "reputational stage" in my research.

The second category of research, pluralism, is defined by the work of Robert A. Dahl in his book Who Governs? and Nelson W. Polsby's Political Theory. These men argue that no one person or group will make all the decisions

on all issues either covertly or overtly. Rather, different leaders exert power in different issue-areas such as education, economic development, or urban renewal. Often there is little or no communication between these leaders. Polsby and Dahl advocate studying the actual decisions made concerning a specific issue. The degree of control exerted by various actors can be determined and then compared to an operational definition of power defined by the researcher. The pluralists completely reject the idea of ruling "elites" and often take the notion that nobody dominates in a town. The third stage, issue-analysis, of my research draws heavily on the work of the pluralists. However, I have combined information concerning potential, perceived, and actual behavior in my operational definition of power.

Alternate Feasible Hypotheses

There are several hypotheses which could be expounded upon. They are as follows:

a. nobody would dominate the Model Cities program
b. the issue of the Model Cities program is not important enough to merit the attention of the local citizens
c. several individuals specialize in the issue of the Model Cities program thus dominate
d. one organization or minority group dominates the Model Cities program
e. the elected officials dominate the Model Cities program
f. there is a covert group which controls the Model Cities program behind the scenes
g. the ruling elite that the town follows on all issues dominates the Model Cities program

Statement of the Hypotheses

"Typically a community is run by many different people, in many different ways, at many different times."
--Robert A. Dahl

In the town of Zebulon, North Carolina there are several affluent men who have taken a special interest in the Model Cities program. These men hold formal positions in the political structure and are responsible for making many technical or legal decisions. Through their administrative positions these men control Model Cities policy. These men are not elected officials or particularly influential in any other issue-area. Also, these men feel that local communities should have complete control of Model Cities programs.

In addition to these men who dominate the Model Cities program positively, there is a homogeneous group of men who oppose it. These men are not respected by the leaders of the Model Cities program. These "enemies of change" put the interests of the entire community and hence, the status quo before the interests of the underpriviledged. These men have vested interests which conflict with the Model Cities program.

Significance of the Hypotheses to the Advancement of Research

My hypotheses add to the body of knowledge concerning the pluralist theory of community power. A specific issue, the Model Cities program, is to be related to the power held by certain individuals in the commuy. Definitions of power are to be made operational and constructed from actual, perceived and potential information pertaining to behavior.

Selected operational Design

The positional analysis, stage one, consists of identifying all formal positons in the economic, political, and civic structures. The information needed was obtained from documents and interviews with the formal leaders. Once this list of potential leaders was prepared, the second stage could begin. This second stage, the repu-

tational analysis, consists of gathering data concerning how both formal leaders and ordinary citizens perceive power in the community. This information was obtained from a questionaire administered in the town. The third stage, issue-analysis, involved both a questionaire and reconstructed all the actual decisions made concerning one specific issue, the Model Cities program. The decisions were reconstructed from documents, newspaper articles, and interviews. The questionaire was used to determine how knowledgeable the citizenry was concerning the issue of the Model Cities program. Once data was collected pertaining to potential, perceived, and actual behavior, an operational definition of power could be defined. Decision-makers could then be evaluated in terms of this definition. Different hypotheses could be tested to determine the composition of the power structure.

Determination of Size and Type of Sample

The hypothesis is relevant to the entire population and particularly the formal leaders identified in the positional analysis. There are approximately 850 people over twenty years old in Zebulon. Six percent (6%) of these people completed a questionaire; 55 people. The number of questionaires completed by formal leaders was 21 or 45%. The number completed by ordinary citizens was 32 or 4%. An attempt was made to administer a questionaire to all the formal leaders. This, however, proved to be impossible. A random sample was used in defining the number and location of the ordinary citizens that were to be questioned. The town was divided into sectors with an equal number of houses in each sector. Each house was given a number and the numbers were then selected at random.

Measurement of Variables

The quantitative variables are measured on nominal scale. Those questions concerning knowledge of the Model Cities program are tabulated on a yes-no basis, while those questions concerning the formal leaders are tabulated on favorably-no opinion-unfavorably-never heard of the person basis.

The qualitative variables involved in the reputation analysis are identified and tabulated on the basis of number of repeated responses.

The Positional Analysis

"We can affix the names of the people who occupy the formal offices, and we can say that here are the people who speak for the major institutional sectors of the commumity."

--Delbert Miller

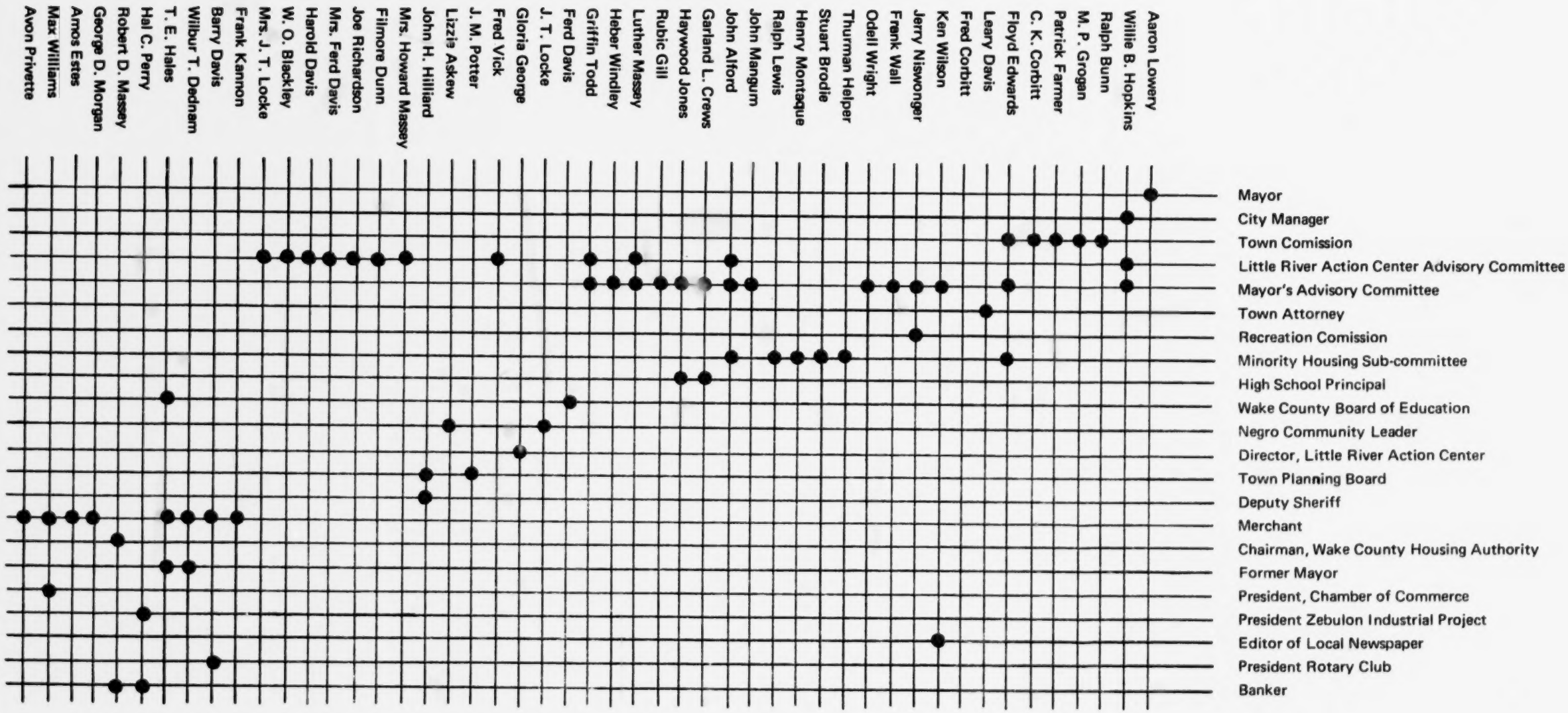
This technique was used to identify the potential power offices in the community's institutionalized economic, political, and civic structures.

The Reptuatuinal Analysis

The reputational analysis was initiated to determine who were the perceived leaders of the Model Cities program. Both formal leaders and ordinary citizens were questioned. Questionnaires completed by formal leaders identified in the positional analysis were kept separate from those completed by ordinary citizens.

Question Seven

Please name the persons in Zebulon whose opinions would likely persuade you to accept their point of view.


Aaron Lowery
Willie B. Hopkins
Ralph Bunn
M. P. Grogan
Patrick Farmer
C. K. Corbitt
Floyd Edwards
Leary Davis
Fred Corbitt
Ken Wilson
Jerry Niswonger
Frank Wall
Odell Wright
Thurman Helper
Stuart Brodie
Henry Montague
Ralph Lewis
John Mangum
John Alford
Garland L. Crews
Haywood Jones
Rubic Gill
Luther Massey
Heber Windley
Griffin Todd
Ferd Davis
J. T. Locke
Gloria George
Fred Vick
J. M. Potter
Lizzie Askew
John H. Hilliard
Mrs. Howard Massey
Filmore Dunn
Joe Richardson
Mrs. Ferd Davis
Harold Davis
W. O. Blackley
Mrs. J. T. Locke
Frank Kannon
Barry Davis
Wilbur T. Dednam
T. E. Hales
Hal C. Perry
Robert D. Massey
George D. Morgan
Amos Estes
Max Williams
Avon Privette
Mayor
City Manager
Town Comission
Little River Action Center Advisory Committee
Mayor's Advisory Committee
Town Attorney
Recreation Comission
Minority Housing Sub-committee
High School Principal
Wake County Board of Education
Negro Community Leader
Director, Little River Action Center
Town Planning Board
Deputy Sheriff
Merchant
Chairman, Wake County Housing Authority
Former Mayor
President, Chamber of Commerce
President Zebulon Industrial Project
Editor of Local Newspaper
President Rotary Club
Banker

Responses of Formal Leaders	voting in elections	borrowing money	model cities program
Ferd Davis	4	0	1
Dr. L.M. Massey	3	0	0
W. B. Hopkins	2	0	5
John Mangum	2	1	2
Leary Davis	2	0	7
Aaron Lowery	1	0	0
Wilbur T. Debnam	1	0	0
T. E. Hales	1	0	0
Jerry Niswonger	1	0	0
Avon Privette	1	1	0
Amos Estes	1	0	0
Lucille Pippin	1	0	0
Robert D. Massey	0	6	0
Horace Gay	0	1	0
Hal C. Perry	0	2	0
Vance Brown	0	1	0
F. D. Finch	0	1	0
H. C. Wade	0	1	0
George H. Temple	0	1	0
Nobody	9	5	2
No Answer	4	3	6
Total Responses	29	21	17

Responses of Ordinary Citizens	voting in elections	borrowing money	model cities program
Ferd Davis	3	1	0
Dr. L. M. Massey	1	0	1
W. B. Hopkins	3	1	3
John Mangum	7	1	3
Leary Davis	1	1	8
Aaron Lowery	1	0	3
Wilbur T. Debnam	1	0	1
T. E. Hales	0	0	0
Horace Gay	0	4	0
Robert D. Massey	0	6	0
Hal C. Perry	0	6	0
F. D. Finch	0	1	0
Gloria George	0	1	0
Elmo Harris	0	0	1
Odell Wright	1	1	1
Mavis Montaque	0	1	1
Frank Kannon	0	1	0
Filmore Dunn	1	0	0
J. T. Locke	2	0	0
Dr. Ben Thomas	1	0	0
Nobody	7	3	3
No Answer	8	9	12
Total Responses	29	28	25

Question Eight

It is sometimes said in Zebulon that "they control things", "they get things done", "they get things their way", and so on. Who are **they** in such statements?

Responses of Formal Leaders		Responses of Ordinary Citizens	
leaders in civic affairs	7	town government	6
town government	5	W. B. Hopkins	3
the citizens of the town	3	Dr. L.M. Massey	2
other	6	leaders in civic affairs	2
no opinion	0	no opinion	7
no answer	0	no answer	9
total responses	21	total responses	27

Question Nine

Here are the names of persons living in Zebulon who have been mentioned on the front pages of The Zebulon Record recently. Please tell how statements about the town's Model Cities program by these people would influence your personal opinion, by checking one of the spaces after each name.

Responses by Formal Leaders	favorably	no opinion	unfavorably	never heard of the person
Dr. M. P. Grogan	15	3	0	0
Patrick Farmer	15	5	0	0
C. K. Corbitt	14	5	1	0
Griffin Todd	6	9	0	1
Ken Wilson	10	7	0	0
Ferd Davis	19	1	0	0
J. T. Locke	3	8	6	1
Ralph Bunn	11	6	1	0
Frank Kannon	10	8	0	0
Gloria George	11	4	2	0
Fred Vick	7	6	1	1
Floyd Edwards	16	3	0	0
Dr. L. M. Massey	17	2	1	0
John Mangum	11	6	0	0
Barrie Davis	16	2	0	1
Aaron Lowery	17	2	0	0
J. M. Potter, Jr.	13	4	0	2
Garland Crews	10	4	2	3
Wilbur T. Debnam	19	1	0	0
John Alford	16	1	1	1
T. E. Hales	18	1	0	0
Lizzie Askew	6	11	0	1
Leary Davis	20	1	0	0
Robert D. Massey	16	2	1	0
George D. Morgan	9	5	3	0
John H. Hilliard	10	6	1	1
W. B. Hopkins	18	2	0	0
Hal C. Perry	15	1	0	1

Responses by Ordinary Citizens	favorably	no opinion	unfavorably	never heard of the person
Dr. M. P. Grogan	18	3	0	3
Patrick Farmer	12	6	1	6
C. K. Corbitt	14	4	0	8
Griffin Todd	14	3	0	7
Ken Wilson	17	4	0	5
Ferd Davis	24	3	0	0
J. T. Locke	9	6	2	5
Ralph Bunn	9	9	0	3
Frank Kannon	14	7	2	1
Gloria George	14	7	1	2
Fred Vick	9	7	0	3
Floyd Edwards	13	6	1	4
Dr. L. M. Massey	17	7	0	1
John Mangum	17	6	0	1
Barrie Davis	19	1	0	4
Aaron Lowery	23	3	0	2
J.M. Potter, Jr.	12	5	1	4
Garland Crews	9	5	1	3
Wilbur T. Debnam	23	2	1	1
John Alford	12	6	1	4
T. E. Hales	21	3	0	2
Lizzie Askew	11	6	1	6
Hal C. Perry	20	1	1	3
Leary Davis	22	3	0	0
Robert D. Massey	19	4	1	2
George D. Morgan	14	5	2	3
John Hilliard	11	4	2	6
W. B. Hopkins	21	5	2	0

Question Ten

What do you think are the most powerful groups in this country today?

Responses by Formal Leaders	
news media	9
organized labor	6
political parties	5
minority groups	4
big business	3
no answer	3
church	2
total responses	34
Responses by Ordinary Citizens	
no answer	12
political parties	8
N.A.A.C.P.	4
news media	2
communist party	2
Federal government	2
Responses by Ordinary Citizens	
organized labor	2
total responses	27

The Issue Analysis

The issue analysis was designed to determine who were the actual decision-makers concerning the Model Cities program. The first part of this analysis involved the initial six questions on the questionnaire. These questions were designed to test the respondent's knowledge of the Model Cities program.

Question One

Are you familiar with the town's Model Cities program?

Responses of Formal Leaders		Responses of Ordianry Citizens	
yes	20	yes	18
no	1	no	14
total responses	21	total responses	32

Question two

The Model Cities program can help the town of Zebulon grow and prosper.

Responses of Formal Leaders		Responses of Ordinary Citizens	
yes	20	yes	29
no	0	no	0
no opinion	1	no opinion	3
total responses	21	total responses	32

Question Three

The design students from State University can provide assistance to the citizens of Zebulon in planning and carrying out out a Model Cities Program.

Responses of Formal Leaders		Responses of Ordinary Citizens	
yes	20	yes	25
no	1	no	3
no opinion	0	no opinion	4
total responses	21	total responses	32

Question Four

The design students from State University should plan Model Cities projects which mainly help poor people.

Responses of Formal Leaders		Responses of Ordinary Citizens	
yes	7	yes	16
no	14	no	11
no opinion	0	no opinion	5
total responses	21	total responses	32

Question Five

The Federal Government should say how federal funds are to be used in Model Cities Projects.

Responses of Formal Leaders		Responses of Ordinary Citizens	
yes	8	yes	8
no	12	no	22
no opinion	1	no opinion	2
total responses	21	total responses	32

Question Six

What would you suggest doing to get people in Zebulon interested in Model Cities program?

Responses of Formal Leaders	Responses of Formal Leaders	Responses of Ordinary Citizens
town government should conduct meetings at which the program is explained and the opinions of the citizens sought	16	19
advertise the program in the news media	4	7
no answer	4	7
select one area; make a success, then publicize the success		
no opinion	0	2
total responses	20	26

The second part of the issue analysis concerned feconstructing all the decisions made in Zebulon pertaining to the Model Cities program. This investigation was initiated to determine who the actual decision-makers were. Interviews, newspaper articles, and official town government documents were used to reconstruct the decisions.

In the fall of 1967 the town government of Zebulon investigated the "city beautification" program provided in the Nelson Amendment. It was also about this time that Mrs. Gloria George became the director of the Little River Action Center. Upon learning of the town's interest in the beautification program as well as its industrial program, Mrs. George invited Earl Byrd, executive director of Can Do (a poverty program in New Jersey) to come to Zebulon to talk with community leaders.

Mr. Byrd arrived in November of 1967 and met with community leaders. At this meeting various community development programs were discussed. W. B. Hopkins indicated the town's need to improve housing conditions in the Negro Barbee Street area. Earl Byrd suggested that the Model Cities program might be investigated. Since attention in Washington was turning to rural areas, Zebulon would have a good chance of being designated. These men Ferd Davis, Aaron Lowery, W. B. Hopkins, Hal C. Perry, Leary Davis, indicated that they would like to investigate the Model Cities program further and would like to receive additional printed information. This information was sent to Leary Davis.

Earl Byrd also met with the People of the Barbee Street area and explained the nature and objectives of many poverty programs. Later that same night, he met socially with the leaders of the Barbee Street area and removed much of the apprehension towards the local poverty program. At this meeting

John Mangum, minister of the Barbee Street Baptist Church, articulated the views of the people and offered his support to the Model Cities project. He also offered to gather data pertaining to the Barbee Street area. Hence,
John Mangum
indicated the tentative approval of the Negro people to the Model Cities program.

In December of 1967 the Little River action Center under the direction of Mrs. George began gathering data to be icluded in a Model Cities application. Also attorney Leary Davis, because of the legal work involved, became the liason between the Mayor's Advisory Committee had just been appointed and was charged with responsibility of forming the Model Cities program. Meeting, arranged by Mrs. George, Asron Lowery, and Leary Davis, of the Mayor's Advisory Committee were held at the Little River Action Center. The various fascets of the Model Cities program were discussed and related to the basic needs of the poor people. Men very focal at these meetings included John Mangum, W. B. Hopkins, Filmore Dunn, and Griffin Todd.

In January of 1968 Earl Byrd returned to Zebulon and reviewed the advancements. Also during this time Leary and Aaron Lowery made visits to various state and local agencies soliciting endorcement and assistance of the Model Cities program.

On February 5, 1968 Leary Davis and W. B. Hopkins made a report on the Model Cities project to the town commissioners. The commissioners voted unanimously to inform the Department of Housing and Urban Development of its intention to submit an application for a Model Cities planning grant. These five commissioners were
C. K. Corbitt Patrick Farmer Ralph Bunn
Floyd Edwards Dr. M. P. Grogan.

On February 28, 1968 a public meeting arranged by Leary Davis was held. This meeting was attended by approximately 120 people. At this meeting Luther Hodges of the State Planning Task Force attempted to speak on new developments in low-income housing and such developments could relate to the Model Cities program. However, his language was such that it could not be understood by the citizens present. W. B. Hopkins and Leary Davis were forced to explain the new developments. John Mangum articulated the questions of the Barbee Street people.

On March 4, 1968 Aaron Lowery and Leary Davis requested the Wake County Commissioners to designate Zebulon as the demonstration agency for Little River Township. Also during March, Leary Davis spoke at the Barbee Street Baptist Church concerning the rumor that the church was to be relocated. J. T. Locke had spread the rumor that houses on Barbee Street were to be torn down and a factory built there. Leary Davis with the help of John Mangum was successful in disavowing the rumor. Leary Davis, W. B. Hopkins, and Aaron Lowery arranged several meetings at which programs were presented explaining the Model Cities program. At one such meeting, the Lions Club, there were some dissenting opinions.

A second public meeting was held in late March. At this meeting questions were asked of W. B. Hopkins, Leary Davis, and Aaron Lowery by the Negro residents of Barbee Street and the white residents of Horton Street. People most vocal at this meeting included Filmore Dunn, Harold Taylor, Ada Perry, Mrs. Manning, and John Mangum. A measure to submit the Model Cities application to HUD was unanimously passed.

In April the town commissioners as well as the mayor and the Mayor's Advisory Committee voted unanimously to submit the Model Cities application to HUD.

Operational Definition of Power
"Power is a means by which one person can influence the behavior of others"
--Robert A. Dahl

An operational definition of power is composed of four components. They are as follows:
first, a man must hold a position from which he can have the potential to weld power.

second, he must be perceived by other people as a leader in a certain issue-area. If not, he will be unable to mobilize popular support in a time of crisis. In a democratic country where decisions are made by majority rule this is very important.

third, he must have the support of other perceived leaders in his issue-area.

fourth, he must be actually involved in the decision-making process.

In Zebulon the Model Cities program produced six men who meet the requirements defined above. They are as follows:

Leary Davis — town attorney, district solicitor
ranked first in reputational analysis
deeply involved in actual decisions

W. B. Hopkins — town manager
ranked second in reputational analysis
deeply involved in actual decisions

Aaron Lowery — mayor
ranked third in reputational analysis
deeply involved in actual decisions

John Mangum — mayor's advisory committee
ranked eighth in reputational analysis
deeply involved in actual decisions

Hal C. Perry — chairman of industrial development
ranked seventh in reputational analysis
involved in initial decisions

All of these men had the support of T. E. Hales, Wilbur T. Debnam, and Robert D. Massey.

These men were perceived to be leaders in the Model Cities Program. However, they were not involved in any of the actual decisions.

Concluding Statements Concerning the Initial Hypotheses

The initial hypotheses that certain non-elected officials who had become interested in the Model cities program control the power is largely true, Both Leary Davis and W. B. Hopkins are appointed officials who, through their involvement in the legal and technical aspects of the Model Cities program, control the decision-making process. However, there are certain community leaders, Ferd Davis and John Mangum, who are influential in aspects of community life other than the Model Cities program.

It was very difficult to identify men opposed to the Model Cities program. However, many people felt that the program should mainly help the entire community rather than poor people. This was very evident in the responses of the formal leaders.

The town commissioners were found to be relatively non-influential concerning the Model Cities program.